brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we die."

6

When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her store, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a *mukowa'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "*mukowa*" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "*gomi*," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

The *mwo*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the children are reared. After the *mwo* comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women and has another for himself, to which he may retire whenever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cassava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of insects is threatening, the women of several households work together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gadu oso*, or "treasure house." It serves to impress his women with his importance and wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

584 /16 mss./
and, once this has been promised, the *boys* indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[481] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, *panjas*, and cloth.

• [59] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[674] The promising of newborn girls takes place to the most part
[482] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in
[667] Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

585 *Polygyny* is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /13/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to fetch wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to
583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/III cont./

relations, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit to the benefit of the household.

Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the women. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a power which is more religious than political.

The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-washers and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

/III/

The Oyapok Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the Caribe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts with European civilization and still represent without alteration the human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in 1720, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision the destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlements of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 87-98.

[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Bent Village," on pp. 470-535, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, parental names of the Bent, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/ab affiliations of each individual.]

619 (to cont.)
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
296 Bantu is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the customs of the
182 Refugee Bantu with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
619 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
• 591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[71] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but
when her children reach adulthood they must return there. This
one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system
of marriage among the Refugee Bantu, which does not involve
the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that
this system was imposed by social and psychological necessities.
But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds
perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle
of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
611 generations separating from the forebears. The sons of women
descended from the forebears in uterine line are regarded as mem-
bers of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation.
The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

Fin nom. /

601 They continue to use the terms *wagi*, *mo*, *nya* even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say *ya ko-wa-ni* in speaking to her, as to a slave.

504 *Marriage*. The conceptions of the Bafiote Bantu on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the word, understood as a contract between two groups of relations, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relations and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /50/ The Bafiote Bantu are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

503

Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.); she sends, inside her his aid for heavy chores, which, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

493 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interest than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/58 cont. /

The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered by extensive divorce; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, no recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free; west is only the Fiote society, where divorces are very frequent. But African common law is that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /?/ new tribe, the different matrimonial systems contained, then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present system was being established.

This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of information collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Cavaignac. Upon the death of Agrou, son of Bani, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the Refuge Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment. Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

[illegible]

(1st cont.)

583 591 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Tsiva lineages mentioned above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do so. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, interpreted as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Bani lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Dyoba, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society is deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 771 [824] Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Kasia, the fundamental religious tie which unites the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] [784] Whatever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a member of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children, subject to the same kuni. Nor can this religious tie be swallowed from the maternal kin group.

581 583 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

000 These considerations show that the African "slavery" as conceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without their concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

[illegible]

[illegible] given oversight as they possess them-selves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration) law for a long time appeared [illegible] in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a bureaucratic affliction. but they deny the ethnic African reasons of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

In the absence of any sectional census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population.

—Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the four seasons (hunting, fishing, hunting, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.).

—A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything.

—If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inscrutable to any meaning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer.

—A number of adolescents and even of men between 20 and 25 years old have no regular hut. Each boy, man or woman, is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the post roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/41 copies/

The principle behind the constitution of the Boni village is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without coming, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed.

-A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages.

-On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1879) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological

1. "Etude ethnographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oyana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oyana Indians of the Upper Maroni/." In Population, Bulletin de l'INED, 1958, No. 3.

investigation.

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
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621

Legend

№		House of		№		House of	
3	○	Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△	Fambïen	Dip. I, E62
6	△	Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○	Asuwèntina	K2, E73
				25 29	△	Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△	Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○	Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○	Saumé	Dip. I, E53	31 32	○	Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△	Tabayé	Dip. I, F73	33	△	Malpa	Dip. I, F52
11	○	Saumé (2nd house)		34	△	Babun (2nd house)	
13	○	Abéna	Dip. I, D38	36	○	Aséli	Dip. I, F60
14	△	Polou	Dip. I, F77	37	○	Elina	Dip. I, E44
15	△	Toli	Dip. I, D44	38	○	Anou	Dip. I, G50
16	○	Mata	Dip. I, F80	39	○	Musinga	Dip. I, F51
17	△	Abagon	Dip. I, E35	41	○	Apenaa	Dip. I, F54
19	△	Bayamabi	Dip. I, E56	42	○	Kodjo	Dip. I, F55
20	△	Simon	Dip. I, F78	43	○	Saayé	Dip. I, F56
21	△	Manku	Dip. I, F75	45	○	Pétchina	Dip. I, E42
22	△	Babun village head	Dip. I, D40				

[622]

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Fambïen, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aïoondo 1935, raised by his father Komman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Maïobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

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Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Soeoman	Dju, E14	27	○ Piké	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6	△ Wénu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
7			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéétchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	38	○ Dechini	Dju, F16
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	42	○ Ursula	Dju, D3
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
22	○ Linga	Dju, F36	44	○ Diana	Dju, E9
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		45		
24	○ Timi	Dju, F1	46	○ Baawé	Dju, E13

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ AfaTia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her mother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

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(622)

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

№		House of		№		House of	
1	△	Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○	Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△	Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△	Empalé	DJUKA
				32	△	Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
3	○	Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	33	○	Agyasu, her husband	
4	○	Mani	1. Afi, d12		△	Maliki,	L2, F64
5	○	Paniki	1. Afi, d13	34	○	Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△	Awéni	1. Afi, c12	35	○	Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△	Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○	Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○	Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○	Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△	Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○	Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○	Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△	Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△	Matapi	1. Afi, c3	40	○	Chitalna	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△	Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○	Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△	Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○	Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○	Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○	Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○	Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△	Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○	Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○	Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○	Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○	Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△	Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△	Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○	Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○	Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○	Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△	Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○	Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○	Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△	Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○	Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○	Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○	Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△	Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○	Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△	Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△	Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○	Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△	Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○	Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○	Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

• 591 Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

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614

Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

• [591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 613 Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping: the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipéin I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. △Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
• 591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
169 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

169 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

[162] [621] For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 591 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

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166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 571 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 [623] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle [613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
•[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̌nkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

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159 562 613 [591] In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

[193] 613 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[193] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

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621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

613 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 241 591 Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

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591 /117 cont./ Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

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198 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

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241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

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166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

/130/

Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

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Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
41/88 47 %	3/88 3 %	7/88 8 %	8/88 9 %	24/88 27 %	2/88 2 %	1/88 1 %	2/88 2 %

together 50%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

31/73 43 %	10/73 13 %	9/73 12 %	3/73 4 %	13/73 18 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %	3/73 4 %

Table III. - Women born before 1936

46/78 59 %	8/78 10 %	10/78 13 %	2/77 3 %	10/78 13 %	0	1/78 1 %	1/78 1 %

together 69%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

40/73 54 %	9/73 12 %	11/73 15 %	2/73 3 %	4/73 6 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %

(1) The symbol ⟩ represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to it when their education was finished.

(591) (2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, informants may confuse them when it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for a long time.

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429 198 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

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593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil [765] spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

• 591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is [582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

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593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

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The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compensation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the children when they reach manhood; he procures their obia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising OK... 1944, daughter of her daughter Balkom, and OW... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papalston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Mulina, the second to her daughter Balkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

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592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[442] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through
[591] laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

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593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Buru and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had
[581] eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her hus-
[511] band; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

169 595 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

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her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

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Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591]

Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.